

Russia able to wage a successful information campaign to influence our election? To what extent were any members of Trump's Presidential campaign coordinating with that foreign attack on our democracy for political benefit?

These are vital questions that every American should know, and it is an outright disgrace that our Republican colleagues have not joined in in asking for this—so many of them—being as partisan as can be and putting their party over country. If Russia continues in these types of investigations, woe is America—woe is America.

Rather than this concerted campaign to sully the investigation and the FBI, President Trump and his allies should be encouraging them to do their job, to do it right, and to do it thoroughly. The stakes are too high and the topic too serious.

I yield the floor.

CONCLUSION OF MORNING BUSINESS

The PRESIDING OFFICER (Mr. CRUZ). Morning business is closed.

EXECUTIVE SESSION

EXECUTIVE CALENDAR

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Under the previous order, the Senate will proceed to executive session to consider the following nomination, which the clerk will report.

The bill clerk read the nomination of Jennifer Gillian Newstead, of New York, to be Legal Adviser of the Department of State.

Mr. SCHUMER. Mr. President, I ask for the yeas and nays, and I yield back all time.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Is there objection?

Without objection, all time is yielded back.

Is there a sufficient second?

There appears to be a sufficient second.

The question is, Will the Senate advise and consent to the Newstead nomination?

The clerk will call the roll.

The bill clerk called the roll.

Mr. CORNYN. The following Senator is necessarily absent: the Senator from Arizona (Mr. MCCAIN.)

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Are there any other Senators in the Chamber desiring to vote?

The result was announced—yeas 88, nays 11, as follows:

[Rollcall Vote No. 320 Ex.]

YEAS—88

| | | |
|------------|----------|--------------|
| Alexander | Burr | Coons |
| Baldwin | Cantwell | Corker |
| Barrasso | Capito | Cornyn |
| Bennet | Cardin | Cortez Masto |
| Blumenthal | Carper | Cotton |
| Blunt | Casey | Crapo |
| Booker | Cassidy | Cruz |
| Boozman | Cochran | Daines |
| Brown | Collins | Donnelly |

| | | |
|-----------|-----------|------------|
| Duckworth | King | Rubio |
| Durbin | Klobuchar | Sasse |
| Enzi | Lankford | Schumer |
| Ernst | Leahy | Scott |
| Feinstein | Lee | Shaheen |
| Fischer | Manchin | Shelby |
| Flake | McCaskill | Stabenow |
| Gardner | McConnell | Strange |
| Graham | Menendez | Sullivan |
| Grassley | Moran | Tester |
| Hassan | Murkowski | Thune |
| Hatch | Murphy | Tillis |
| Heitkamp | Murray | Toomey |
| Heller | Nelson | Udall |
| Hirono | Perdue | Van Hollen |
| Hoeven | Peters | Warner |
| Inhofe | Portman | Whitehouse |
| Isakson | Reed | Wicker |
| Johnson | Risch | Young |
| Kaine | Roberts | |
| Kennedy | Rounds | |

NAYS—11

| | | |
|------------|---------|--------|
| Franken | Markey | Schatz |
| Gillibrand | Merkley | Warren |
| Harris | Paul | Wyden |
| Heinrich | Sanders | |

NOT VOTING—1

McCain

The nomination was confirmed.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Under the previous order, the motion to reconsider is considered made and laid upon the table and the President will be immediately notified of the Senate's action.

The Senator from Florida.

Mr. NELSON. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to speak as in morning business for up to 5 minutes.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

REPUBLICAN TAX BILL

Mr. NELSON. Mr. President, there are many reasons to vote against the tax bill. A new one has come to light in examining these 1,100 pages, and that is with regard to Puerto Rico and what it does to Puerto Rico.

It ought to be enough that \$1.5 trillion is borrowed in order to finance a huge tax cut for multinational corporations, with incentives to send American jobs overseas. That ought to be enough, and it ought to be enough that compared to that, there are just crumbs for the hard-working, middle-class families, but there is more.

In this tax bill, indeed, CBO has said that 13 million people will lose health insurance as a result of something that was done to the Affordable Care Act.

Now, if all of that were not enough, and if you care about the people on the island of Puerto Rico who are reeling from two storms that hit them—a good part of the island still doesn't have electricity and still does not have potable water—and who were already in economic straits to begin with and wanting to keep jobs on the island so people don't have to flee—lo and behold, in the tax bill, what is given to American mainlanders is an increase in the child tax credit from \$1,000 to \$2,000 per child and making that refundable for low-income people up to \$1,400 per child—that increase to help poor, working families with children was not given to Puerto Rico.

That doesn't make sense, and it is just another reason why we should vote against the tax bill.

I yield the floor.

RECESS

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Under the previous order, the Senate stands in recess until 2:15 p.m.

Thereupon, the Senate, at 12:52 p.m., recessed until 2:15 p.m. and reassembled when called to order by the Presiding Officer (Mr. PORTMAN).

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Oklahoma.

LEGISLATIVE SESSION

MORNING BUSINESS

Mr. INHOFE. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the Senate be in a period of morning business, with Senators permitted to speak therein, equally divided, until 3 p.m.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

Mr. INHOFE. I also ask unanimous consent that at the conclusion of the remarks of the Senator from Virginia, I be recognized for such time as I may consume.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

The Senator from Virginia.

REPUBLICAN TAX BILL

Mr. KAINE. Mr. President, I thank my colleague, the Senator from Oklahoma.

I rise to talk about the tax debate that the Senate is currently having. I wish to highlight some of the reasons why I think this bill is bad and, frankly, focus on the missed opportunity that we are about to embark on when we could have found a much better project.

Let me tell you a story from when I was mayor. I was mayor of Richmond. I know my colleague from Oklahoma was mayor as well. I had a city council colleague who introduced a seemingly benign bill. It was a bill to limit the number of dogs and cats that anybody could have at their residence.

Now, pursuant to the city rules, we had to post this resolution in the newspaper for a couple of weeks so that citizens could read it, and we had a public hearing where any citizen who wanted to speak for or against the resolution had the opportunity to do so. Then, the city council members debated, and then we had a vote. It turned out to be a little more controversial than the council member originally contemplated.

When I was mayor, the minor little debate in the Richmond City Council about the number of pets you could have at your residence received more openness and transparency and discussion and debate than the vote that we

will have within a few hours or days about the entire Tax Code of the United States.

Instead of doing a bill openly and deliberately, with a lot of public input, and ultimately reaching for a bipartisan result, we have moved hastily, in secret, and in a partisan way. In my view, that is the reason why the end product is going to be so discouraging.

We had a vote in the Budget Committee to move this tax bill forward. It was interesting. We actually voted before we discussed it. The bill was on everybody's desk. The chair decided that we would vote, and only later would we talk about it. That would never have been done at a Richmond City Council meeting.

We had a full audience of citizens who wanted to be heard, and they were not given an opportunity. That would not be done at a Richmond City Council meeting. Some of the citizens started to sort of protest and get angry, get mad, and shout. When that happens in a committee meeting, I cringe because it is a violation of the decorum I expect. But what choice do they have? This is only a tax reform that affects the entire American economy, every American family, and every American business, and they feel shut out of the process.

The first version of this bill that was live was released to the public in the Senate on Thursday, November 9. The current version, which is the fifth version of the bill, was only released last Friday night, 4 days ago. So this bill to completely rework the U.S. economy moves from introduction to passage over just 41 days with multiple versions, often with handwriting in them and handed out at the last minute before votes.

The last time this body did comprehensive tax reform in 1986, the Senate had 36 days of public hearings over 10 months. This plan has had zero—zero public hearings. When the Finance Committee refuses to allow a hearing, when the Budget Committee forces a vote before the members even have a chance to express their opinions, is this really what the Senate wants to be known for? The stakes couldn't be higher.

I think in the end it is highly unlikely, but I still hope at the end we might decide to do this the right way and not the wrong way, because when you approach the process the wrong way—quickly, secretly, in a partisan way, without public input or hearings—you get a bad bill. This bill, in my view, is a bad bill.

The benefits in this bill overwhelmingly accrue to folks who are at the top end, who frankly don't need your help. Eighty-three percent of the tax plan's benefits go to the top 1 percent earners in this country because of giveaways like increasing the estate tax threshold and altering the alternative minimum tax.

If you make over \$1 million, you will get a collective tax cut of \$36.9 billion

just in 2019. Those who make over \$1 million will see their taxes go down by that much.

Massive tax cuts go to foreign individuals who own stock in American companies. Just in the first year, about \$48 billion go to foreign individuals because of their ownership of stock in American companies. To the contrary, millions of middle-class people are hurt.

By 2027, on average, every income group below \$75,000 will face a tax increase, and 92 million households—the combined population of probably 20 States—earning under \$200,000 will face net tax increases in this bill. That is over half of all households in the country.

The working poor get hurt especially. The working poor who have the most to lose and the least margin will get hurt. By 2025, this bill would reduce the after-tax incomes of households with incomes below \$40,000, while it would boost the after-tax incomes of households with incomes over \$1 million.

I want to assume in charity that the hurting of the working poor and the helping of folks at the top is a result of haste rather than design. We could take the time and get this right.

These analyses that I just indicated are done by the nonpartisan CBO, whose director is from the Mercatus Center at George Mason University, which is widely known as a very conservative economics department, and also by the Joint Committee on Taxation, and the Tax Policy Center. All of the analyses come to virtually the same conclusion: The bill dramatically increases the deficit to the tune of \$1.4 trillion over the next 10 years. It will lead to millions of people falling into the ranks of the uninsured. The CBO says 13 million.

For my own Commonwealth, there are a number of provisions that are particularly harmful. We are one of the top five recipients, or claimants, of the deductibility for State and local income taxation. Virginians are going to be hurt because of the reduction of the historic tax credit.

Why couldn't we work together? Why couldn't we work together to try to do something that would be right, as President Reagan and Congress did in 1986?

Now, 16 Democrats and 1 Independent stood up a few weeks ago, and we said: We are ready to work with Republicans on tax reform. You have former Governors who have done bipartisan tax reform. You have former tax commissioners who have worked on tax issues. We said: We are ready to work with you to make this better.

Every one of us in that group has worked on bipartisan tax reform. I have done it as a mayor, and I have done it as a Governor. I know how to do it, and I have ideas, but nobody was interested in a single one.

The late Friday night that we voted here, I put an amendment on the table to show my Republican colleagues our

good faith and saying: We will work with you. I stood up, and, of course, I was only given a minute to make an amendment. The process said that even though it is the entire American economy, you only get 1 minute. I stood up, and I said: I can't fix the bill in 1 minute, but I can do a couple of things. I can reduce the deficit impact by \$1 trillion, and I can make every middle-class tax cut that is temporary in this bill permanent. I can do those two things—permanent middle-class tax cut and reducing the deficit by \$1 trillion—if you will agree with me to do the following: Don't touch the AMT or top individual rates and reduce the corporate tax rate, not to 20 percent but to 25 percent—from 35 to 25.

Thirty-four Democrats voted for tax reform for the reduction of the corporate tax rate from 35 to 25, making middle-class tax cuts permanent, and reducing the deficit by \$1 trillion, but not a single Republican—not a single one—would vote to make the middle-class tax cuts permanent and reduce the deficit. We still want to work on it. We could still make it better.

As I conclude, I will just note, again, that it was notable that when President Reagan did tax reform as President in 1986, this didn't get 50 votes or 50 votes plus a tie-breaker—51 votes. In this body, the greatest deliberative body in the world, the Reagan-era tax reform got 97 votes because they took the time to have the hearings and hear from the public, and they took the time to incorporate great ideas no matter the party of those who offered it.

President Reagan said, as he was embarking on that: "It should not be a partisan debate, for the authors of tax reform come from both parties, and all of us want greater fairness, incentives, and simplicity in taxation." He was right then, and that remains true, and yet this is a process that is not incorporated—either the thoughts of the public or the thoughts of the Democratic minority.

I will say this, as I close. The GOP is not measured by who it says its hero is. Most of my GOP friends have posters of President Reagan or pictures of President Reagan. They talk about him as a personal hero, but you really are not measured by who you say your hero is. You are measured by whom you act like. This is not a President Reagan-era tax reform. This is not the way President Reagan would have done tax reform.

This is a President Trump bill. A last-minute change in this bill—a very important last-minute change that only came in at the very end—would directly benefit President Trump and his family by further exploiting a loophole to give real estate developers more money. This was on top of giving him relief on the estate tax and the alternative minimum tax. At the last minute, there was one last change made that was specifically designed to help President Trump make even more. No, this is not a Reagan-era tax reform

bill. This is purely a product of President Trump.

It follows what he does: Say one thing and do another. Claim to help the middle class but actually hurt them. Say it is not going to help me or wealthy people when it actually does. I am not surprised by the President, but I am surprised at many of my colleagues here because we could have worked on something and not have missed an opportunity that would have been far better for the American economy. It is still my hope that we will.

I yield the floor.

THE PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Oklahoma.

Mr. INHOFE. First of all, Mr. President, as to my very good friend from Virginia—and he is a very good friend—I think he needs to reread this bill.

Now, I am older than he is and most of the people around here, but I do remember the Reagan tax cuts. This is a Reagan tax cut.

I listened to the other side and a lot of the liberals on the other side, because there is a difference between Democrats and Republicans, and we understand that. But they come out and say: Oh, it is always class warfare. It is always that they are doing this for the rich. The rich are going to get richer. Well, that is not the way this worked out.

There is a group called the National Tax Foundation. The National Tax Foundation did an analysis of this, and they did it State by State. In my State of Oklahoma, the average family of four will get an increase in their take-home pay of \$2,000. Now, where does it come from? There is the standard deduction, for example. The Senator talked about this being for the rich. This isn't for the rich. The standard deduction actually goes from \$6,000 to \$12,000. If you are married, it is from \$12,000 to \$24,000.

There is the child tax credit. We are all concerned about the child tax credit. Several Republicans wanted to do even more than that. Right now, as the law is, it is \$1,000, but it is going to be increased after this is over, after we vote. After we have a major tax reduction, that child tax credit will go from \$1,000 to \$2,000 per child. That is a huge thing. That is not for the wealthy.

I listen sometimes when they talk about how this is going to increase the deficit. I have to tell you, though, that I remember very well. In fact, I remember so well. I have given speeches over time. Reagan reduced taxes twice. One was in 1981 and one in 1986. In 1986 and 1981, the total amount of revenue that came into the Federal Government was \$469 billion. He had a huge reduction in rates. Yes, the top rate went down from 70 percent to 50 percent, then the others went down in accordance with a similar percentage.

Now, what happened to that was that, while the total amount that came in before the tax cuts was \$469 billion, afterward, it was \$750 billion. The same thing happened in 1986. In 1986, the

total revenue that came into the Federal Government was \$569 billion. At the end of that period of 10 years that they were measuring, it was \$1 trillion.

Now, the problem is, the other side is always saying that our deficits increased during that time period. Yes, they did, but I have to say this: It was not because of Ronald Reagan, it was because the House and the Senate were run by liberal Democrats, and as fast as the increase in revenue came in, they were spending not just the increase but even more.

So that is one of the differences now. I anticipate that we are going to have a conservative House and Senate for the years to come, and we will just have to wait and see what is right.

I do agree with my friend from Virginia, though, in one respect; that is, he and I both had the hardest job in the world. You never know what a hard job is until you are mayor of a major city. There is no hiding place, and if they don't like the trash, it ends up in your front yard.

REMEMBERING DOUG COE

Mr. INHOFE. Mr. President, that is not what I am here to talk about today. I would like to speak about someone who—I will put it this way: Way back in the 1950s, back when Eisenhower was President, three giants came to Washington, DC. Two of the three giants people know about and they have heard of and they are well known. One was Billy Graham. Oh, we remember Billy Graham still, right now, and the things he has done. He has done more for Jesus and for God. Every time I get a chance to see something on TV that is from one of his past rallies, I do so.

Another one who came, of the three giants who came, was Bill Bright. Some may not remember who Bill Bright was. He was the founder of the Campus Crusade for Christ. He was the guy who actually started—people are not aware of this in the general public, but we actually have events two times a week; one is a Prayer Breakfast and one is a Bible study. Bill Bright was the one who started that. So everyone has heard of Bill Bright and the Campus Crusade for Christ.

The third giant who came in no one has heard of, and his name was Doug Coe. This is Doug Coe. Doug Coe came with the other two giants, and he really changed America. He died last February 21. I purposely, for an obvious reason my colleagues will find out in a minute, waited until now to talk very much about him.

You see, people think of Doug Coe as having been someone who was a great diplomat, he had political influence and all that. There is an article written not long ago, and I will read this to you because he did things like that. He did it second only to his real mission in life.

The article goes like this:

The extent of Coe's influence in American politics is [real]. . . important figures have

acknowledged his role on the national and international stage. For instance, speaking at the 1990 National Prayer Breakfast, President George H.W. Bush praised Coe for his quiet diplomacy.

I don't ever remember in the years I have known him that he ever raised his voice. He was always a quiet diplomat.

[Doug Coe] was a behind-the-scenes player at the Camp David Accords in 1978, working with President Jimmy Carter to issue a worldwide call to prayer with Israeli Prime Minister Menachem Begin and Egyptian President Anwar Sadat. In 2000, Coe met with the top economic officials of Pakistan as a "special envoy." Coe met with President George H.W. Bush as he hosted a luncheon with Iraq's ambassador to the United States in the mid-1980s. In 2001, Coe helped arrange a private meeting between two warring leaders.

By the way, I was there so I remember this firsthand. That was the President of Congo, Joe Kabila, and the President of Rwanda, Paul Kagame. I was there during the National Prayer Breakfast, and he had these two Presidents of warring countries in there to talk to them in the spirit of Jesus. That is when everything broke down, they became friends, and they signed a peace accord. That was Doug Coe.

Coe was a member of the large United States Congressional and ministerial delegation which accompanied then First Lady Hillary Clinton to the 1997 funeral of the founder of the Sisters of Charity, Mother Teresa. He is mentioned by John Ortberg in his book, "If You Want to Walk on Water, You've Got to Get Out of the Boat."

He talked about how the book was partly about Doug Coe. He was the guy who had a great influence in bringing medicine and releasing political prisoners in Kenya. We all remember that episode.

So here we have a guy who was bringing warring powers together. He was solving serious problems with the country. Yet that wasn't even his mission.

I know I will lose credibility when I say this because people will think it is impossible. A few people here know it is not impossible because they heard it once before; that is, Doug Coe has actually taken his mission, which is the Jesus mission—by the way, Time magazine listed him among the 25 most influential evangelicals in America, but, anyway, I will lose credibility when I say that, in effect, Doug Coe has been to every country in the world. The reason I know this—I thought we had him one time because Zanzibar is actually—people think it is a separate country next to Tanzania. He never was in Zanzibar, and I was. Then we found out he was right, and I was wrong; that was not a separate country.

Anyway, he has had this Jesus mission since actually the late 1940s.

I want to just mention that I hope and pray my kids and grandkids, when it comes time for me to cash out, will be as respectful and as loving as his kids and grandkids were at his funeral. We called it a celebration, not a funeral. One of his grandkids, Sam Wagner, talked about a trip he and his